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ABSTRACT

The literature of American public library outreach services over a 15-year period is reviewed in the context of the War on Poverty milieu and the four functions of reader services: information, instruction, guidance, and stimulation to use. Three formats were typically present in this literature: broad statements of need, justifications of services to meet needs, and program reports. Evaluative research and research into the information needs and information-seeking patterns of the poor were sporadically reported during this period together with program reports. Emphasis on research increased in the seventies. From 1960 to 1963 the literature concentrated on barriers to physical access to library service. Three approaches to service emerged which forecast the War on Poverty outreach styles: intensified traditional library services, community based service, and political solutions. During the 1964-68 War on Poverty period, four service models dominated the literature: (1) relevant traditional, (2) community life participation, (3) storefront communications centers, and (4) cooperation with other agencies. From 1968 through 1975 the emphasis in the literature switched to more specific client group definition, an interest in research on information needs and emphasis on program evaluation, and a growing focus on literacy and on information and referral. The author's vita concludes the pamphlet. (Author/ESR)

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The Evolution of Library Outreach 1960-75 and its Effect on Reader Services:

Some Considerations

by

Kathleen Weibel

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ABSTRACT

The literature of American public library outreach services 1960-75 is reviewed in the context of the "War on Poverty" milieu and the four functions of reader services: information, instruction, guidance, and stimulation to use. Three formats are typically found in this literature: broad statements of need, justifications of services to meet needs and program reports. Evaluative research and research into the information needs and information-seeking patterns of the poor, as well as program reports, were sporadically reported during this period with increasing emphasis in the seventies on research. Prior to the War on Poverty—1960 to 1963—the literature concentrates on barriers to physical access to library service. Three approaches to service emerged which forecast the War on Poverty outreach styles. These early sixties approaches can be characterized as: (1) intensified traditional library services, (2) community based service, and (3) political solutions. During the 1964-68 War on Poverty period, four service models dominate the literature: (1) relevant traditional, (2) community life participation, (3) storefront communication center, and (4) cooperation with other agencies.

From 1968 through 1975 the emphasis in the literature switches to more specific client group definition, an interest in research on information needs and emphasis on program evaluation, and a growing focus on literacy and on information and referral. This focus is interpreted as an indication of a change in emphasis within the reader services functions with stimulation to use, which had been predominant in the sixties, becoming less of a focus and more of a supportive element to information and instruction.

INTRODUCTION

In the 1960s many American institutions, including the public library, were brought up short by the realization that large and increasingly vocal groups in society were not being adequately served. These groups—often labeled the disadvantaged, the deprived, or the culturally deprived—were generally characterized by poverty, lack of power or low educational attainment. The civil rights movement, media coverage, violence and conflict in cities across the country focused America's realization of the reality of poverty into what was billed as an all-out attack on the problems of the poor. America's poor became a national issue complete with a "War on Poverty" led by the federal government and financed by federal dollars through such programs as the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act. The then

considerable prestige and moral power of the executive branch of government was coupled with legislated monies to produce a social policy which required a passionate commitment to change.

Michael Harrington's *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*, published in 1962, and often credited as a catalyst for this national recognition of, and action on, the problem of poverty, described the poor in terms now familiar to us:

> The poor in America constitute about 25 percent of the total population. They number somewhere between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000, depending on the criterion of low income that is adopted.
>
> The majority of the poor in America are white, although the nonwhite minorities suffer from the most intense and concentrated impoverishment of any single group.
>
> A declining number and percentage of the poor are involved in farm work, and although rural poverty is one of the most important components of the culture of poverty, it does not form its mass base.
>
> In addition to the nonwhite minorities, the groups at a particular disadvantage are: the aged, the migrant workers, the industrial rejects, children, families with a female head, people of low education. These various characteristics of the culture of poverty tend to cluster together. (The large families have had the least gain of all family groups in recent years, and hence more children among the poor.)
>
> The people who are in this plight are at an enormous physical disadvantage, suffering more from chronic disease and having less possibility of treatment.
>
> The citizens of the culture of poverty also suffer from more mental and emotional problems than any group in American society.[1]

In these more cynical times, the moral indignation and dimension of the national crusade to eradicate poverty is sometimes difficult to recall. The march toward "The Great Society" with its accompanying ready availability of funds and solutions, its optimism, commitment and militancy was called to a halt by the magnitude of the problem of poverty itself and our unwillingness to commit the totality of our resources to it. Ultimately it was sacrificed to the tragedy of Vietnam, recession, inflation, changes in national leadership, and the trauma of Watergate which have further diffused the effort to eliminate poverty through public policy. In 1971 Harrington wrote:

> Still the very same groups which were poor when this book was written in 1961 and published in 1962 are poor today: the blacks, the Spanish-speaking, the unemployed and the underemployed, the citizens of depressed regions, the aging. And I should add one minority that I quite wrongly omitted from my original analysis: the American Indian, probably the poorest of all.[2]

The national crusade against poverty was short-lived. A little over ten years after the 1964 passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, an impoverished New York City took the place of the individual poor on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*. Today, in 1982, the programs, structures and ideals of the War on Poverty have virtually disappeared from the federal agenda. The poor are once again pictured on *Newsweek's* cover, but the feature article deals only with their plight in the tightening economy and restrictions on federally supported aid programs. No national solutions to a national problem are offered, as they were in the sixties.

An awareness of the short-lived War on Poverty milieu (1964-68), of the hope and potential for solution to the problems of poverty in America and of the conditions which precipitated it is essential to an examination of public library services from 1960 to 1975. During the 1960s, librarians, like other professionals, considered their personal and institutional roles in the nation's unconditional war on poverty. These considerations are reflected in their conferences and literature, and were influenced by the overall tone of the period. The personal and institutional roles of public libraries and librarians as enacted in the development of an approach to library service—often called "outreach"—are the subject of this paper.

While the term *outreach* is used extensively in library literature from the mid-sixties on, a specific definition is not readily offered. Outreach is often used interchangeably with synonyms such as *extension* and the phrases "service to the disadvantaged" or "unserved," and "community" or "inner-city service." Modifications in the goals or type of library service described can be seen over the period examined, while the interchangeability of the terms and lack of specificity of their definition remains.

Extension of service and involvement in community are certainly not library concepts unique to the sixties. As Ernestine Rose's *The Public Library in American Life* (1954) shows,[3] public library development may be seen as an attempt to extend materials and information access to a broadening citizenship through the creation of new services and techniques. Branches, reference service, mobile units, subject collections and specialists, programming, systems and networks are but a few of these attempts. While discussing the skills needed for outreach work, Ella Yates (1972) summed up the relationship of movements in public library service such as extension, group services and adult education to the present: "For many years, libraries have offered services outside their hallowed walls, involving community organizations and segments of the population who did not enter the portals. In recent years we have witnessed continued interest and expanded efforts described as community and/or outreach

service."[4] In addition to expanding efforts, the differentiating factor between the previous service extension and outreach lies in the concentration of outreach in the client group described by Harrington and in the social milieu of national concern over poverty which encouraged its development. When the concept of "The Great Society" was born in response to the social upheaval of the sixties, and money for the improvement of the quality of life became available to the poor, awareness of the community also heightened. It was not that the poor did not realize that they were underpaid, undereducated and received the crumbs of society. They understood all too well the facts of their life and saw little hope of changing things through existing means, although they were aware of their power to bring governmental response in a crisis situation.

Many of the government's approaches to social problems, such as model cities and the earlier community action elements of the Economic Opportunity Act, had as integral components citizen participation, which opened up new channels for community involvement. The renewed awareness of community reaffirmed a sense of community power, which was acted upon despite governmental "fudging" on the concept of democratic participation almost from the beginning.

Outreach, built on the awareness of community, acknowledged this concept of democratic participation and, to varying degrees, included community involvement in decision making on library functions and services. To paraphrase Phyllis Dalton's 1972 introduction to a journal issue covering California outreach programs, outreach was also characterized by: (1) confrontation rather than avoidance of critical social problems; (2) emphasis on workable rather than solely library procedure-based programs; and (3) a commitment to going where need is rather than falling back on passive attitudes.[5]

Eleanor Brown, who reviewed library services and literature in 1971 to produce a sourcebook for project and program ideas on service to the disadvantaged, adds innovation to Dalton's characterizations.[6] After surveying staff working in what she termed inner city service (1968-70), Margaret E. Monroe (1972) developed a framework for reader services to the disadvantaged which included autonomy in addition to the Dalton and Brown characteristics.[7] Monroe also offered the services of special libraries as a prototype for service to the poor. Lipsman, in her 1972 outreach study, also identified autonomy as a characteristic of successful programs.[8]

This paper examines the literature of public library outreach (1960-75) from an evolutionary viewpoint. The focus of the examination, as well as

the development of outreach in public libraries, centers on the reader or public services areas. It is acknowledged that functions such as administration, collection building and technical services are essential to the delivery of public services in a library, but their consideration is not within the scope of this paper. Two approaches are taken to outreach; one as a euphemism for library services to the poor or powerless, and also as a service mode itself.

Through analysis of the literature and identification of models, the development of outreach is traced from the introduction of the term in the early sixties through the mid-seventies. In the middle seventies the focus of library literature switched from the more general outreach services to more specific service styles, such as information and referral, or more specific problem focuses, such as literacy. By the mid-seventies too, library literature to the poor dealt with more clearly defined client groups: the aged and the Spanish speaking, rather than "the poor," which in the sixties had meant typically urban blacks and Appalachian whites.

In this paper the functions of reader services: information, instruction, guidance, and creation of a climate for use, provide a framework for examining outreach in a context of public library service. These are the functions used by Margaret E. Monroe to analyze reader or public services in the University of Wisconsin-Madison Library School course for which this paper was originally written. The first three functions—information, instruction, guidance—were identified by Samuel Rothstein in his *The Development of Reference Services Through Academic Traditions, Public Library Practice and Special Librarianship* (1955).[9] Monroe identified the stimulation function in her dissertation, published as *Library Adult Education: The Biography of an Idea* (1963).[10] Concepts of access and community interaction are also considered.[11] Outreach's effect on specific reader or public services will not be discussed. However, the development of the functions and concepts of reader services within outreach is offered as an amplification of a reader services model in the style of Monroe.

Literature on library outreach programs was identified through the use of the broad criteria discussed earlier when searching *Library Literature* and the ERIC and CIJE databases. Bibliographies were also used extensively particularly those by Stoffle (1969); Copenhaver (1968); Childers (1975); and Forsman (1975).[12] Because of the extent of the literature, an emphasis was placed on services to adults, although children's and young adult services were considered. Particularly as the literature scattered in the 1970s, documents in spinoff areas were sampled rather than read in full.

Emphasis in this paper is on experiences in the United States, although it should be noted that relevant literature exists for other national experiences in extending library service to the poor or powerless.

A characterization of the literature, chronological service and client analysis of outreach follows this introduction. The reader is cautioned that this analysis is at the descriptive level. Models are developed to suggest patterns not define them. No causal or interdependent relationships are sought. Nor does the literature reviewed here necessarily reflect the full reality of outreach services. Many projects were never covered in the literature; and many issues of concern to outreach workers, such as administrative support or the concept that once local libraries were solely responsible for financing services, were not dealt with in any depth.

The reader is further cautioned that this paper was written in 1976, and to a certain extent, reflects the perspective of those times. It has been only slightly revised since then.

LITERATURE CHARACTERIZATION

The literature of outreach 1960-75 was primarily descriptive and intuitive, sometimes rhetorical, and, with a few exceptions, generally not the product of rigorous investigation. Three formats are commonly used to present this literature: broad statements of need, justifications of the public library's adjustment of services to meet these needs, and reports of programs and techniques. Initially the uniqueness of outreach, rather than an integration with other services, was emphasized, although the historical precedent for outreach was frequently given. The availability of funds, how to get them, problems in working with other agencies, and the federal bureaucracy were detailed. Personal testimony was given. The work of individuals such as Don Roberts and Hardy Franklin[13] was described, and generalizations drawn on the type of person needed in librarianship if the poor were to be served. The literature has been much criticized for its sentimentality and missionary stance, but this may also be interpreted as an intensity and excitement—the product of a strong sense of commitment on the part of the writers.

In the earlier years of outreach particularly, the literature looked inward, building primarily on itself. The focus was on service to the black urban poor and white Appalachian poor. The public library's role was defined by the view that education is the key to social mobility. Outreach was seen as the salvation of the public library as well as a service to the poor. In the 1970s, librarians writing on outreach or service to a disadvantaged clientele

drew more on fields such as social work and communication. Information and education joined as keys to changing the condition of the poor. The formats of need statement, justification and report were still plentiful though, and were particularly noticeable in the writing on more recently recognized client groups such as the Spanish speaking.

Public library outreach literature shared characteristics with literature on the information and knowledge needs of the disadvantaged as described by Joyce Post in Childers's *The Information-poor in America* (1975).[14] Although the number of documents was large, much was irrelevant, and the access to documents through formal indexes was inadequate. Outreach was not a term used in *Library Literature* during this period of intense interest. Several headings needed to be searched, and these varied from year to year. Little attempt was made to standardize terminology in either of the related fields—information needs of the poor and outreach—a problem reflected in the literature itself as well as in the indexes.

Library Journal, School Library Journal, Wilson Library Bulletin, and ALA publications provided the most readily accessible public library outreach literature because of their general availability. The state of the literature in these journals remained fairly consistent over the period examined (1960-75), although the particular emphasis changed with the evolution of services. As might be expected, articles tended to be either newsy or reports of projects. News items announcing programs were rarely followed up, so that actual, rather than projected activity was difficult to determine. For example, the Chicago Public Library's proposal for seven neighborhood centers announced in *Library Journal*[15] was never funded, but this fact was not reported in later literature.

In addition to individual articles, at the state and national level entire journal issues were devoted to outreach-related topics. For example "War on Poverty" (1964); "Federal Financing for Library Personnel" (1965); "Time for Self-Renewal" (1966); and "Libraries and the Spanish-speaking" (1970)[16] to mention a few.

Editorial stance in the Bowker publications and *Wilson Library Bulletin* consistently favored outreach programs. ALA publications did not as actively editorialize on behalf of outreach, but this seems in keeping with an overall tone rather than an indication of opposition.

Treatment of outreach in state and association journals was similar to that of the national library press. If anything it was less critical, more descriptive and more practical. Longer and more consistent coverage of outreach was given in New York, Wisconsin and California, states which Mersel

reported gave service to the disadvantaged early Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) funding priority.[17] California, for example, produced two journal issues on outreach,[18] and Wisconsin one[19] in addition to single articles. The Appalachian and mid-Atlantic state journals had also shown a continuing, if erratic, concern.

Conferences on library service to the poor were typically reported briefly in state and national journals, as in Broderick's summary of a Maryland workshop for trustees and administrators,[20] and less frequently in the more analytical style used by Geller[21] in covering a gathering at High John, the University of Maryland's experimental education and outreach program. Published conference proceedings, *Library Service to the Unserved*,[22] for example, contained material similar to the journals. However, issues were more carefully articulated, problems more readily discussed, and contributions by individuals outside the library field more frequent. Conferences, in fact, were the primary source for comment on public library outreach services by nonlibrarians. Most general library literature articles on library service to the poor by individuals such as Michael Harrington, Hubert Humphrey, or Kenneth Clark were either conference speeches or based on them.[23]

Some research findings were summarized in the general library literature, as was the Bank Street Study[24] in a succinct *Library Journal* discussion;[25] or evaluated as Gans did in his analysis of *Access to Public Libraries*.[26] But these were exceptions rather than the norm. Research in public library outreach reported in the 1960-75 literature was primarily evaluation or surveys. The focus was on process and the library, rather than on problem and client in a social and informational environment, and certainly reflected the field in its lack of coordination. While Peil's study of low income mothers and children was one of the earliest pieces to appear in the literature (and one of the few on outreach in *Library Quarterly* 1960-75),[27] examination of information patterns or disadvantaged user needs was not a major emphasis of library research until the 1970s.[28] In fact "intense interest in public library client groups is a fairly recent phenomenon," according to Marcia Bates.[29] (This is not to say that communication patterns and information use of potential public library users were not being considered in other disciplines.)

Studies related to public library outreach services were available primarily from the funding or institutional source, whether federal, as with Warner,[30] or institutional, as with Lowell Martin's *Baltimore Reaches Out*.[31] Lipsman's *The Disadvantaged and Library Effectiveness*,[32] published by ALA, was one of the few library outreach investigations produced

in hardback format. Studies frequently cited in the more general journal literature—e.g., Lipsman, Clift, and Bank Street[33]—provided models and detailed descriptions of programs, a fact which may partially account for their "popularity." Post's comment on the literature of the information poor is appropriate to outreach related research: "As might be expected in an area that is just emerging, the greatest research effort is devoted to describing the real world and establishing the comparatively superficial associations that are permitted by the survey research variables of demography, gross behavior and expressed opinion."[34]

The literature of public library outreach also contained innumerable reading lists and bibliographies, such as Peter Hiatt's list in a 1967 *Focus on Indiana Libraries*.[35] While these have proven useful in the development of services to the poor, they will not be considered here.

To summarize, public library outreach literature described a need, attempted to set a climate which encouraged the redistribution of resources to meet that need, and described and provided methods to do so. Successful services were highlighted. As the need to improve design services became apparent, evaluation appeared in the literature and the complexity of the problem of designing library service appropriate to the needs of the poor started to be broken down into researchable questions. This process began in the sixties with one quality—disadvantagement—from which more clearly defined needs and client groups developed. Within each of these new need and client groups, a literature following roughly the same process occurred. By the mid-seventies, acceptance in practice, if not in theory, of Martin's view of public library service to discrete target groups rather than a general public,[36] produced a literature so diffuse that discussion of outreach became irrelevant, and the term no longer widely used.

CHRONOLOGICAL SERVICE AND CLIENT ANALYSIS OF OUTREACH

The evolution of outreach services can be seen in changes in the literature's subject, tone, emphasis, and view of the social and political implications of extending service to the poor and powerless. Attitudes in the society which supported public libraries, and within librarianship itself, influenced this service evolution. Scattered library services to the poor were reported 1960-63 prior to the War on Poverty. The creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1964 and its disbanding after the election of Richard Nixon in 1968 marked the most obvious period in public library outreach—the War on Poverty. The period from 1969 to 1975 was charac-

terized by transition and diffusion, but can be broken into two periods of differing emphasis: 1969 through 1971, closure and legitimation; and 1972 to 1976, special group and informational services.

Prior to the War on Poverty: 1960-63

Segregation was the key issue in the library literature on service to the poor published between 1960 and 1962—not only in public libraries, but also in library associations themselves. In 1963 this issue broadened to include less blatant discrimination with the publication of the International Research Association's study of access to public libraries.[37]

The purpose of this investigation was the broadening of understanding of limitations on free and equal access of all people to public libraries and their services. Libraries were compared with the ALA standards, and restrictions to students, non-English speaking and blacks were examined. In Edwin Castagna's words the study had "some of the public library world in an uproar and will stir up others as its findings are pondered."[38] Briefly, outright denial of access was found in the five-state area of the deep south; direct discrimination in the other southern states; and indirect discrimination throughout the United States. Service for non-English speaking was generally limited. These findings offended some librarians such as Harry Peterson of the District of Columbia. Questions on the validity of the research methods used were raised and compliance with ALA standards offered in defense of the criticized libraries.

The issue of defining equal access in terms of user perception or professional standards was thus raised even before the official declaration of war on poverty. Herbert Gans, speaking as a social scientist, offered librarians an approach to the issue of access which he defined as the breaking down of class, cultural and social barriers—a definition not really fully accepted in the majority of outreach programs later developed: "The best system is one that meets both user and professional needs—in that order, but before such a system can even be contemplated, librarians must increase their interest in the needs and behavior of their users, and collect the data necessary to understand them."[39] Gans urged public libraries to provide the highest service priority to the urban low-income population, white and nonwhite, but added that he did not know how to shape that service.

Three approaches to shaping service to the poor were offered in the literature in 1963. The *provision* of better books for children so that they could break out of the cycle of poverty is proposed by Patrick Groff.[40] Kathleen Molz described the Brooklyn community coordinator, or

"human linkage of library and urban poor" concept as demonstrated in the work of Hardy Franklin.[41] Dan Lacy, in a speech given at the Symposium on Library Functions in the Changing Metropolis (and also published in 1965)[42] proposed that the public library's responsibility to the poor lay in the *translation* of their informational and reading-related needs into a demand which would force publishers to produce the materials needed. The library then enters the market, buys the materials and makes them accessible to the poor. Lacy also saw the goal of such public library services as transformation of the class itself, not escape for individuals.

These three approaches forecast later outreach literature: first, service to the poor through provision of more and relevant materials and an intensification of accepted library reader service activities; second, the extension of services into the community through active participation of library staff in the life of the community—an emphasis on the reader-services function of creating a climate for use; and third, a change in the role of the public library—an extension of the creation of a climate for use to political and social considerations beyond the library.

Intensified traditional library services became almost universally accepted (if not implemented) for the client group discussed most often in the early 1960s, blacks, but are still a difficult first step as each new client group emerges. Community based service was established as a technique in many outreach programs, but had been integrated and diluted into a concept of community oriented branch service. Political approaches of the third type are periodically discussed in the literature but not generally accepted or implemented. Lacy's particular analysis of the potential role of the public library was the only one with any semblance of an economic base, although Major Owens's later analysis of the power of information parallels Lacy's emphasis on change of a major magnitude.[43]

Public libraries then, entered the War on Poverty already considering the basic questions of how to serve the poor and to what end. Adaptations of service modes had already begun. The division in the profession over previously perceived needs, client groups and methods, and the demands of the increasingly visible other America were already apparent in the library literature of 1960-63.

The War on Poverty: 1964-68

Henry Drennan set the tone of the public library's participation in the War on Poverty issue of *Library Journal*, 15 September 1964, in his editorial "The Unifying Theme."[44] Education must and will effectively serve to

provide equal opportunity in the United States; the public library as an educational institution has a vital role to play in this process. Michael Harrington set a counterpoint to this tone earlier that year by stating that to succeed, the War on Poverty must be based on a politics of change; because the problems and miseries of the poor are coordinated, the attack on the problem of poverty must also be coordinated.[45]

Four service styles dominate the literature from 1960 to 1968: (1) making the traditional services relevant to a community typified by New York Public Library's approach; (2) participation in the life of the community by library staff as practiced in Brooklyn and Los Angeles; (3) The New Haven Neighborhood Library Center or storefront services; and (4) the extension of services through cooperation with other agencies as Enoch Pratt Free Library did in its CAP program. Common characteristics included the reliance on outside sources for funding and concentration on improving access to libraries through increased community contact. The four styles tend also to stress the creation of a climate for use, while intensifying the reader services functions.

While these four styles are presented separately, they have overlapping characteristics and should be viewed on a continuum rather than as four corners of a square. Position on the continuum is determined by emphasis on the community or on the institution "public library" as the major force in defining services. Both emphases exist in all four styles, but the relationship of the two is the factor which determines positioning on the continuum of outreach styles.

Just as the styles overlap, the examples used to illustrate them are not necessarily examples of only one style but rather emphasize a particular approach characteristic of the four dominant styles of the period.

Relevant Traditional

The North Manhattan Project provided Library Services and Construction Act funding to improve staffing and collections at the New York Public Library's Countee Cullon Branch and Schomberg Collection on black history and literature. The project has been discussed frequently during the period 1965-68[46] and was included by Winsor and Burrows in the influential Bank Street Study.[47] It was also referred to fairly often in general access accounts of outreach.

The New York Public Library (NYPL) has a strong tradition of reader services. Perhaps this tradition, coupled with the nature of the prestigious Schomberg Collection, its relationship to Countee Cullon Branch and the

place of both in the Harlem Renaissance of the twenties, accounts for the maintenance of the NYPL style in extending services to Harlem in the sixties. A more flexible community worker-based style was adopted in the less well-known South Bronx Project,[48] for example. Augusta Baker, former Countee Cullen children's librarian, and at the time of the North Manhattan Project, Coordinator of Children's Services, viewed the War on Poverty programs of libraries as but an extension of services begun by Anne Carroll Moore at NYPL over fifty years earlier.[49]

The North Manhattan Project utilized higher levels of staff and materials to increase programming to both organized and unorganized children, youth and adults. School visits, book talks, visits to the library, film showings, and cultural events were organized to encourage use of the library. Heavy use of audiovisual materials was made in the library; tours of the Schomberg Collection were a regular part of the program. In describing the use of film in the project, Wendell Wray concluded that the tenets of good group work were still valid, but must be coupled with knowledge of the community.[50] NYPL, then, sought to extend service to the poor by offering the best of traditional public library service focused on the community's growing awareness of its identity and heritage. Excellent service was seen as all that was needed to draw the community to the library. The functions of reader services—information guidance, instruction, and stimulation to use—were equally emphasized within the parameters of the NYPL's approach. Problems with centralization are reported by Robbins, but these related more to circulation than reader services.[51] The North Manhattan Project was considered a successful model of service to the disadvantaged through traditional methods.

Community Life Participation

The role of the Brooklyn Public Library Community Coordinator has already been briefly mentioned. Like Augusta Baker, Eleanor Smith, Coordinator of Adult Services at Brooklyn, speaking at a conference on Library Service for the Undereducated, saw little difference between the past methods and outreach. "No basic service changes are proposed, just a more creative and dynamic approach."[52] Yet, at the same conference, Bessie Bullock, a Brooklyn Community Coordinator, reported that each coordinator was free to develop his/her own program in his/her role as link between the community and the public library: "It is not as important to know books well as to get along well with people to be helped, and put them at ease."[53]

This statement demonstrates the contrast between the community life participation style of outreach and the relevant traditional style. In the

community life participation approach the emphasis on the creation of a climate of use was so strong that library materials gave way in importance to human interaction. The fact that the Coordinator of Adult Services and Community Coordinator from the same library system both espoused different approaches at the same conference also demonstrated another characteristic of the community life participation style: administrative flexibility, and the kind of autonomy Lipsman found necessary for a successful outreach program.[54] This is not to say that administrative flexibility and autonomy were absent in the relevant traditional approach, but rather to point out their necessity to the community life participation style.

The outreach services of the Brooklyn Public Library typify the community life participation style of outreach. Brooklyn's outreach programs were among the first in the country and received frequent coverage in library literature. Hardy Franklin began work as a community coordinator in 1961; a reading improvement program was begun in 1958.[55] Sidewalk service,[56] college and career clubs,[57] service to pre-school children,[58] the three *B*s program—placing books in bars, beauty salons and barber shops—are well covered in the literature of outreach. The Brooklyn programs are evaluated and described in the Bank Street Study[59] and National Book Committee Neighborhood Library Centers and Services,[60] and have probably been written about more than any of the other programs.

Ann Littlejohn, Community Coordinator, said "practicality and flexibility are key words for library programs for the deprived."[61] In Brooklyn there was administrative support for this concept and a system-wide effort to decentralize library policy selectively to accommodate differences between neighborhoods.[62] The Brooklyn model of outreach was an attempt to build a bridge between library and community through personalized response to individuals in single or group situations. Services were not centered in the library as they were in the North Manhattan Project, but rather in the community through the work of the community coordinator, deposits of books, programs held both inside and outside the library building, mobile units, and work with community agencies and organizations. Programs were based on need rather than format in the mode Gans suggested in 1963.[63] John Frantz, library director at that time, sums up the Brooklyn philosophy: "Whether these skills [professional librarianship] are exercised inside or outside the library building is of less importance than that they have been called into play to reach the people who need them most."[64]

Los Angeles Public Library (LAPL) also sought to improve service through increased community contact in an LSCA funded project at its Venice Branch. This project received considerable coverage in itself[65] and because of the very personal style developed by Don Roberts. Roberts took the Brooklyn model and articulated the role, not only of the librarian as information agent, but also the community as information agent as well. The bridge between library and community became a series of interconnecting bridges in Venice. Outreach was personal not institutional. Information and materials were produced as well as distributed. All forms of media were stressed.

The Brooklyn/LAPL Venice Branch model of outreach was built on the concept of community/library interaction through human interaction and services designed around "real life" needs developed with a willingness to reshape library formats rather than fit clients to an existing pattern. The function of creating a climate for use almost became the delivery of the reader service; yet other functions—guidance, information, and instruction—were also intensified.

Storefront Center

The New Haven Library Neighborhood Center was not a neighborhood library center although it lies at the base of the National Book Committee's model.[66] Rather it was "a cultural center or a neighborhood meeting place, built, programmed and planned around book contents, ideas, information, and intelligence," according to Meredith Bloss, Director of the New Haven Public Library.[67] The Neighborhood Center was frequently mentioned in general outreach literature and covered in several articles and conferences. Bloss himself often spoke for the concept,[68] assuring a continuity of approach. Public library outreach accepted the external manifestations of the New Haven program—storefronts, paraprofessional community based staff, comfortable informal surroundings, and many activities and programs—more readily than the underlying philosophy.

New Haven was the home of the prototype agency for the Community Action Program (CAP) of the Office for Economic Opportunity. A climate of innovation, nurtured by Ford Foundation dollars, had existed for almost ten years before the planning of the Neighborhood Library Center, which took place with the assistance of a neighborhood advisory council in 1963. The center was based on the premise that people are social, need to communicate and have a curiosity about their world. This premise resulted in an "experimental demonstration project designed to explore new ways of bringing books and other media of communication to bear

upon individual and community needs for increased skills in communication, and for life enrichment."[69] The purpose of the Center was not to make readers out of nonreaders, instill love of books, or increase library use—although these may have been interim goals—but rather to accomplish the social goals of a better individual and community life.

The New Haven Center is also unique in that it was the only library-sponsored, library-administered multimedia neighborhood center funded by the National Book Committee which existed as an integral part of the regular municipal system.[70] The Center was jointly financed with city and foundation funds and was considered successful enough that three others were established in New Haven.

The model of the Library Neighborhood Center was also characterized by a shared planning process for developing reader services for the poor. A community advisory board was involved in clearly defining needs which could be met by an agency for communication—the public library. Contact was established and maintained with other problem-solving agencies throughout the life of the program. An evaluation mechanism was built in at the beginning of the process rather than tacked on at the end.

To summarize, the New Haven Library Neighborhood Center concept was based on need, and a view of the public library which sees beyond the agency to the process which gives it life—communication. Client participation was sought not only in programs, but also in the process which determined them. In terms of the functions of reader services, the Center's purpose was the creation of the climate for use; instruction was deemphasized and guidance and information intensified. New Haven, like Brooklyn, approached community/library interaction through human interaction. The Library Neighborhood Center functioned as a library within a social and political environment of which it was conscious. It was also aware of the communication environment of its clientele and built its service within the context of both environments—its contribution to outreach services.

Cooperation with Other Agencies

The Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore chose a coordinated approach much like that called for by Michael Harrington as one method for serving the disadvantaged.[71] Dorothy Sinclair gave the rationale behind what was to become the Enoch Pratt CAP Program at the 1965 conference Library Service to the Undereducated: "A coordinated program of agencies working together with neighborhood people, involving the undereducated themselves, and bringing to bear a variety of resources and techniques, has

a better chance of success than a fragmented type of program or an individual effort."[72] The program was in the planning stages for two years and was the product of an interagency cooperative attempt to involve all city agencies in the solution of the problems of Baltimore. The CAP program placed libraries and services in outposts of the Baltimore Community Action Agency concentrated around the Johns Hopkins Hospital area. It was administered by the library and funded through the Community Action Agency.[73] Evelyn Levy, director of the program, stated as its purpose: "This is an outreach into the community, an introduction to libraries, which, we hope, will lead to the use of the extensive resources of the library...."[74]

The CAP program sought to provide alternatives to conventional library service but not to replace it. Richard Moses described the library as a purveyor of a wide variety of experiences, legitimate in themselves, not just as adjuncts to "better reading."[75] A combination of traditional services and street activities were used. The concept of service was similar to Brooklyn's—the chief difference lying in the emphasis on an interagency coordinated approach and the location of the libraries. The CAP program was built on a ready acknowledgment of outreach as a technique to bring people to the library. It emphasized stimulation and built on a strong additional program of reader services like the New York Public Library (NYPL), but differed from the NYPL North Manhattan Project in its separation of outreach and traditional services.

These four service styles—relevant traditional, community life participation, storefront communication center, and coordination with other agencies—are reported over and over again in the literature of the public library in the War on Poverty. With the possible exception of New Haven's underlying philosophy which produced no significant difference in services from the others, they did not represent a real departure in extending service; rather they represented departure in technique through the emphasis on the reader services function of stimulation to use.

In addition to the response of the public library at large to the problems of the poor, individual librarians (e.g., Virginia Steele)[76] brought their skills to social change processes, such as the Mississippi Summer Project. Book collection programs and volunteer libraries were also established by people outside of librarianship.[77] Their rationale and conception of library service relevant to the poor were markedly similar to the type of program described earlier.

Survey research and evaluation reports began appearing in the literature after 1965, and will be summarized here to set a framework for the transi-

tion from the War on Poverty. Bernice McDonald investigated service to illiterates in 1965 and found a variety of approaches and commitments which met needs in this area. She felt, however, that she must ask in her conclusions if this type of service was the library's job.[78] John McCrossan reviewed reading surveys in 1966 and concluded that there was some evidence that those in the lower socioeconomic levels of society are poorer readers.[79] The Bank Street Study and earlier National Book Committee report have already been mentioned.[80] The National Book Committee recommended a nationally-funded network of neighborhood library centers to meet the needs of the disadvantaged; among other suggestions, the Bank Street project raises the question of a supportive, rather than direct, individual-oriented service mode for public libraries wishing to be of benefit to the poor. Lowell Martin's *Baltimore Reaches Out*, proposed a plan for system-wide service to the poor based on a study of that library system's constituency and capacity as an institution. It provided a model of the kind of in-depth study Gans called for in designing user-oriented services based on professional expertise.[81]

The War on Poverty period in public library outreach ended with the kind of discordance felt in the larger society during 1967-68. The High John experiment in library education at the University of Maryland appears frequently in the literature. Its struggles to meet the needs of a community and a profession seeking relevance reflect the field. The High John experiment funded through Title IIB, sought to advance education and research through a field laboratory approach.[82] The project alternated between the two extremes of library outreach service identified by Ewald Nyquist—naïve over enthusiasm and unreasonable pessimism.[83] At a three-day workshop held to bring field and theory together, Evelyn Geller reported the same kinds of questions as had been raised in 1964 and the widening splits within the field.[84]

Closure and Legitimation: 1969-74

The drying up of the federal and state funds which had supported much of the innovative outreach services of the War on Poverty meant the end of an era of growth. Some states such as California continued to fund outreach programs with the diminishing LSCA monies.[85] Client groups such as prisoners, the aged or migrants were clearly specified and target areas more carefully defined.

Concentration on the needs and characteristics of the client groups to be served and on the elements of planning and delivering such service takes the place of program description as the dominant theme in the literature of

public library outreach. During this period, Virgil Clift's 1969 study of the New York state cities of Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse services to the poor analyzed the population in terms of factors potentially affecting library use.[86] He articulated the depth of the problems of the poor and the long-term commitment on the part of librarians and libraries necessary to change. Lowell Martin proposed public library service based on a concept of special publics—of which the poor are one—in *Library Response to Urban Change*.[87] Margaret Monroe summarized the work of the previous period and built a framework for reader services to the disadvantaged applicable to any library client group.[88] The publication of Claire Lipsman's *The Disadvantaged and Library Effectiveness*[89] marked the end of a transition and strongly articulated the need for library planning in the development of services—a perspective shared by all of the above.

Information as power is a theme which began to build in the literature at this time. Major Owens, like Lacy in 1963,[90] called for the development of great masses, not the salvation of a few.[91] Disenchantment with the War on Poverty service, rather than with the power concept articulated by Kenneth Clark and Dan Dodson, offered a challenge to the integration of the outreach service mode into public libraries.[92] Owens called for the same skills as Lipsman but sought to use them in an action orientation. The issue in the early seventies which received the most attention was no longer whether to serve the poor, but for what end. Related to this issue was the question of advocacy or the activist role in seeing that clients' needs were met rather than meeting needs only to the limit of a library's program of materials and information.

Spanish-speaking people emerge as a new client group during this period, and as with the earlier development of service to blacks, identifying and understanding the group and the development of special collections to meet their needs concerned the majority of the literature. The problems of acquisition are frequently mentioned because of the need for Spanish language materials.[93] Involvement of the community in the selection of materials is discussed by Goodman[94] at a Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education (WICHE) conference,[95] and by Robert Haro in the *Wilson Library Bulletin* issue on service to the Spanish speaking.[96] The character and attitudes of staff working with Latinos was given attention similar to that given earlier workers with the more general group, the disadvantaged.

Discussions of new client groups and of the need for planning and clearly stated goals and objectives indicate an acceptance of the outreach mode, if not of the political assumptions undergirding its practice, as espoused by

Owens and others. Concentration was focused on basic levels of reader services functions, either because not enough was known to propose new models (witness the repetition of the service to the disadvantage approach in developing service to the Spanish speaking), or because of an unwillingness to rethink and restructure library services to deal with empowering the poor and powerless. Bonnie L. Tate summarizes the status of outreach in the early seventies: " 'Outreach' has become a popular term, but it has commonly meant the pre-analysis of a community and administering to pre-conceived needs. In many cases 'reaching out' has meant handing out the same old wares in a different way."[97]

Emergence of the Instruction and Information Concept

The call for recognition of the uniqueness of each client group continued through the seventies. Such terms as *outreach, service to the disadvantaged, the poor,* or *inner city* seldom appeared in library literature of the mid-seventies. Specific patterns—unfortunately often the old pattern in different dress—were being developed to meet specific needs and reported in the literature. The major exception from the mid-sixties being that when these services were described, the client group was named and defined as it is in Zonligt's analysis of the information needs of farmworkers.[98]

Another noticeable change from the literature of the sixties to the seventies, in addition to the concern with specific client groups, was the change in emphasis on the functions of reader service in designing library response to the problems of poverty and powerlessness. Information, particularly information delivered through information and referral services, and instruction in the form of a focus on people's need to learn to read, emerged as dominant functions. And stimulation of use, the cornerstone of outreach, became a supportive element of each. The work of the Appalachian Adult Education Center (AAEC) and the service of the Detroit Public Library serve to illustrate this trend.

The AAEC was not initially a library-based project, but rather was created to address the literacy level in the Appalachian region. As part of the strategy developed, library involvement in the literacy movement became a central thrust of the Center. The Center saw a range of potential library involvements from supplying materials to planning and managing literacy programs. As part of their effort to stimulate librarians to deal directly with literacy, a series of free manuals on aspects of service to a target group (termed disadvantaged) was produced.[99] These guides were later distributed through the American Library Association. While crystallizing outreach techniques in a highly readable manner, these guides were directed at

an expansion of the library's instruction function. The AAEC rooted its service concepts in survival skills and the ability of individuals to cope with life. Relevant materials, community involvement, good planning, interagency cooperation and the provision of information as well as materials were all part of the AAEC's library literacy program. The librarian's role, as outlined in the guides, was to "enable" client. While this was accomplished through a full range of services, the opportunity to learn to read was viewed as a major enabling tool. As such the public library's response to the problems of poverty was based on some interpretation within a range of involvements of the instruction function.

Among the AAEC Guides is one by Bob Croneberger on information and referral service.[100] The information and referral concept first entered library literature through Alfred Kahn's *Neighborhood Information Centers* published in 1966,[101] was picked up by Enoch Pratt Free Library[102] and modified to meet agency rather than individual needs, and reemerged in the literature and consciousness of librarians with the 1971 Allerton Conference.[103] Along the way, of course, others contributed to the development of the concept both inside and outside of the field. The point here is not to analyze information and referral but to pose it as a change in the reader services model traditionally used in attempting to reach the poor and powerless. The information function was stressed to the point where guidance and instruction are minimal. The library was viewed as an information-searching organization which drew on the entire communication and information environment—an institutional extension of Don Roberts's community coordinator-based concept of the community[104]—and the librarian as an information agent. Creation of the climate for use continued to be intensified as it was in the earlier outreach mode but information is the dominant reader services function.

Clara Jones, former Director of the Detroit Public Library, which had committed its entire system to an information and referral (I&R) concept of service extension sums up the move from an outreach to the I&R concept:

> Our earliest response to the changing city was to begin making book selection and staffing reflect more sensitively the needs of the new public, and then we turned with vigor to make programming more relevant.... Two decades later the profession has come close to mastering the techniques of "relevant" programming (these overworked code words!)....In the back of our minds there has been a simplistic belief that if only the burgeoning "minorities" could somehow be enticed to read, public library service would be restored to the normalcy of yesteryear.... To my way of thinking it has become obvious that public libraries can no longer depend on reading guidance as the only major adult activity....The library should be the first point of reference for any inquiry from city residents as a means of securing direction through the maze of agencies and organizations.[105]

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